1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

There are no special privileges attached to a position in the higher classes. Nor is a more courteous language used towards higher-class persons, except that the *sangyangs* have a right to the title of *de* (perhaps an abbreviation of *gĕde*).[6] Members of each class have their own places of burial in specified graveyards divided into a right-hand (eastern) and a left-hand (western) series on either side of the eastern gate; the division, however, does not correspond completely to that of the classes into *panĕngĕn* and *pĕngiwa*.

The *sangyangs* and *prajurits* are not allowed to eat millet, cane sugar, or bread-fruit, nor may they kill turtle-doves or two kinds of salt-water fish or cut *pungut* trees. In a land like Bali, with its far-going subdivision in classes and castes, the number of such prohibitions is countless, since every group has its own. The explanation usually given is that members of a certain class or caste have an obligation to the prohibited animal or plant because of a service it had rendered an ancestor.[7] In the case of Tĕnganan this is true of the two kinds of fish, which are considered as the defenders of the Tĕngananese coast.[8] However, the turtle-dove is prohibited because Batara Indra assumed the shape of that bird in order to travel swiftly from Jambudwipa (India) to Bali, while the prohibited plants mentioned served as food for him, and the *pungut* tree as a resting place.

It is not prohibited for men to marry women of a higher class, but such marriages are usually frowned upon; especially the choice of a wife from one of the *sangyang* groups by a man of a lower class is looked upon as ill-fated, since such people die an early death. In case of such mixed marriages the wife joins the class of her husband and is also buried in the graveyard of his class, while the children, too, follow their father's class. However, such mixed marriages never lead to a breaking of ties with her family or a loss of family rights.

In the period before the twentieth century the *sangyang* and *ijĕng* groups were exempt from services to the ruler.

The second method of dividing the population, according to age and marital status, is related to some extent to the division into

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

845 metjaru, the great ceremony of purification. (See "Nyepi," page
783 277).

It is at this point that serious trouble starts for the unfortunate father of the twins; he must pay all expenses for the costly purification offerings and ceremonies by selling his property if he has no ready cash. If the amount obtained is not enough, the townspeople have to raise the rest, but should the man be totally destitute, the village advances the money. In old times the man became a slave of the village until he could buy his freedom with labour, but today in many places he is allowed to beg from house to house, authorized by a special permit from the village heads. Since the purpose of his begging is for the good of the community, no one may refuse him, no matter how small the contribution.

[426]

845 This strange calamity is only for the common people. Among
564 the nobility the birth of such twins is generally a happy omen and people of high caste claim that should the boy and girl twins marry each other, the union would bring prosperity and happiness to the country and they would become rulers. A nobleman explained to me that when a couple of his class has led a model life of faithfulness unto death, they will reincarnate as twins "again married in the mother's womb," returning to their old home. Despite this idea, however, the marriage of twins has seldom happened and my Balinese friends knew of only one case where a noble boy married his twin sister.

[775]

[588]

845 A logical explanation of these curiously contradictory customs
835 has been given by Jane Belo in her thorough "Study of Customs
564 Pertaining to Twins in Bali" (see Bibliography); on the native side, as originated by the dread of brother and sister incest so widespread among primitive peoples, a breach of marital taboos and consequently a crime. The native idea came in conflict with the general policy of establishing the superiority of the ruling class, who tried to liberate themselves from the curse by legalizing the birth of such twins and declaring that such was the desirable way for Radjas to have children; consequently for the common

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

As regards all marriages which are thought to bring famine to the village and to make dirty the temples, according to the adat of Bu'ungan the behavior of the people who commit this wrong is thought to be just as the behavior of animals.

For example when it happens that someone marries the mother of his cousin (*rĕramă di misan*), or the mother of his second cousin (*rĕramă di mindon*), on the male or on the female side, they must have the ceremony *mĕsakap* at the crossroads of the village with the following offerings:

a. *Panchă-limă*
   bèbèk bĕlang kalung (duck)
   in the center, *nasi wong-wongan tumpĕng 10*
   one small *sorohan*
   offered to the earth (*ibu pĕrtiwi*).

b. Pig, chopped
   sorohan agung (large)
   other offerings which go with it, making a high altar (*pang-gungan*) as a place for these offerings to the Sun-god, *Suryă*.

As soon as the *balian konèng* has dedicated (*ngantĕb*) these offerings facing East as he should, at this time the man and the woman who have committed the wrong together crawl on all fours, their necks hung with the bar of bamboo in the manner of animals (pigs), the man from the south and the woman from the north approaching a *palungan* (drinking trough) made from a *dadap* tree, which has been filled with the water in which rice was washed (pig-food), the two, man and woman together drink the rice-water in the drinking trough.

The report states that before this incest rite the man and the woman must remain for a month and seven days outside the village, to the north (whereas for *manak salah* the time of banishment is the same, but the place to the south of the village). Three days after the *mĕsakap* the whole group *gĕbog satak* of two hundred villagers must *mĕlis* to a meeting of rivers, carrying with them not only the gods but all the possessions of the temple including the gamelan. All are purified with holy water from a *bujanggă*.

On the return from *mĕlis*, the reception of the gods is

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

588 684 celebrated with offerings of a pig and *sorohan agung*, and performance of the *baris* dance. A feast is given to the *kramă dĕsă* by the family of the incestuous pair. After this the two are banished from the village for a year, not allowed even to enter the precincts of the *gĕbog satak*. The penalty [787] if they disobey is the offering of a pig to the temple Pură Balé Agung and of a goat to the temple Pură Dalĕm Pingit. When the year is up they may return to the village and must go through the usual marriage ceremonies. In case the family concerned is not able to pay all these expenses [958] the village takes them over, seizing or putting in pawn all their lands until the amount is repaid.

For more serious incest, as of a man with his brother's mother, his own mother or sister, the ceremony *mĕsakap* is the same, but there must also be the ceremonies *ngĕlungah* and *mĕsadi* as for *manak salah*. The people are banished from the village for life, and the lands of the family may be seized on the male or on the female side.

We now come to the rules for *manak salah*:

*845 539 782 If anyone bears *anak bunching*, male-female, it is called *manak salah*. The people of the village-quarter (*kramă banjar*) must move these people (the mother and the father and the two *anak salah*) to the outskirts of the village, on the south side, near the graveyard, with the entire house where the children were born, which must be taken apart and put up again outside the village. The people of the *banjar* take their turns helping, but in the matter of food the 'wrong ones' must make their own provision. The 'wrong ones' stay there one month and seven days.

When twelve days have elapsed after the birth of the children, the ceremony *ngĕlungah* (small *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place inside the house-court where the children were born. Offerings *panchă limă*, celebrated by *balian konèng*, holy water from the *bujanggă*.

As soon as one month and seven days are up, the ceremony *mĕsadi* (big *mĕtĕlah-tĕlah*) takes place before the temple Pură Pĕnataran in the village of the people with the twins. The ceremony requires one small male pig and one female calf whose nose has not yet been punctured for the rope, skinned and spread